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## Conceptualising events of dissent: Understanding the Lava Jato rally in Sao Paulo – 5<sup>th</sup>

December 2016.

Ian Lamond

### Introduction

The Swedish free market think-tank Timbro has, in recent years, produced an annual index that marks changing trends in support for what it calls authoritarian populist parties from across Europe. Findings reported in July 2017 (Timbro, 2017) suggest vote share for such political movements has been relatively stable, at just below 20%, since 2015; however, this marks an almost 150% increase from ten years before, where the 2005 share was closer to 8%. In the introduction to its 2016 index, its principle compiler wrote: “Today, populist parties are represented in the governments of nine European countries and act as parliamentary support in two others. Hence, one third of the governments of Europe are constituted by or dependent on populist parties” (Timbro, 2016. p.4), arguing that “...the authoritarian strain in these parties...is dangerous and threatens the values and principles that have been at the core of European democracy for more than half a century.” (p.5)

But the growth of political populist movements has not been confined to Europe. Around the world the electorate in democratic states seem to be moving towards a more populist position. Examples might include Donald Trump’s election as the 45th President of the United States; the rise of the One Nation party in Australia; and the expansion of populism across democracies in South America, including the increasing support accruing to the forthcoming presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, to name but a few. In this chapter the primary concern will be with an event of dissent associated with the populist right in Brazil.

But what is populism? A full discussion of that term would lead this chapter in a direction other than that which is intended, but some basic consideration of it is essential. At its most basic, populism is an appeal to *the people*; but it is more than simply that, it also contains aspects of anti-establishmentism and anti-elitism (Bosteels 2016). Jan-Werner Muller suggests that we do not yet have anything approaching a theory of populism, as such it is an essentially contested political concept; one which carries, at its core, a paradox (Muller 2017).

As a political position it makes substantial claims to be the voice of *the people*, defending their interests, and articulating their concerns. Yet, by suggesting that this ‘people’ are unified and univocal construes them as singular, which undermines the significance of diversity at both an axiological and ontological level. As such, the ‘people’, within populism, becomes constituted not by what it stands for but that towards which it is opposed. As the Tunisian activist Sadri Khiari argues: “The question ‘What is the people?’ must naturally be answered by another question: against whom are the people constituted?” (Khiari 2016, p.88). Through homogeneity, populism becomes an exclusionary principle; one that clothes itself in the trappings of democracy whilst ignoring its substance.

In this chapter I will reflect on a demonstration by populist Right groups, in support of the ongoing anti-corruption investigation Operação Lava Jato (In English; Operation Car Wash), which I observed in Sao Paulo on the 5<sup>th</sup> December 2016. The principle aim of this chapter is to develop a richer conceptual understanding of mass demonstrations as events of dissent; presenting a synthesis of approaches that suggest a theoretical framework with which we can begin to grasp, and in the case of authoritarian populism – confront, such events. Thus, rather than adopting a specific research method that attempts to establish a definitive conclusion, this chapter adopts a reflexive ethnographic perspective, with an orientation rooted in critical event studies (CES), that suggests insights that can be derived from the application of the theoretical frameworks it pulls together. Consequently, it becomes more important to see how the proposed confluence of ideas can develop our understanding than whether it can establish authoritative findings.

The synthesis I propose will draw on ideas from Stebbins, and others, around different forms of leisure practice, and the descriptive model of policy change that has grown out of the work of Sabatier, referred to as the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). By bringing these two theoretical perspectives into CES, it is hoped to gain richer understanding of populist events of dissent and, in so doing, enable others to develop strategies for confronting populism’s assault on diversity and its implicit counter-democratic agenda of exclusion in democratic participation (Rosanvallon 2008).

Beginning with an outline of my understanding of what it means to adopt a CES orientation to the study of events, and why it is of value to the study and analysis of events of dissent, I

will proceed to describe the anti-corruption demonstration I observed in Sao Paulo. The reflection on the event will then follow two paths. First, I will consider how activism can be understood as a form of leisure activity and thus how the varieties of participant engagement observed during the event can be construed from a perspective of diverse leisure practices. Second, I will take events of dissent to be a form of seeking policy change, framing the observed demonstration as the articulation of coalitions advocating the formation or revision of an existing policy framework. Thus framed, questions around how coalitions are formed, sustained and, potentially, how they can be challenged and confronted, can be raised. In conclusion the two theoretical perspectives will be drawn together to highlight how they have enabled us to obtain a richer understanding of events of dissent whilst also suggesting pathways for developing strategies for confronting the growth of authoritarian populism.

#### CES and the study of events of dissent

CES emerges from a broad-spectrum dissatisfaction with how events are studied within the aligned fields of event management and events studies. One approach has been to address this dissatisfaction by proposing an expansion of the curriculum associated with the field so that the wider social sciences can play a greater part (e.g. Andrews and Leopold 2013, or Moufakkir and Pernecky 2014). An alternative approach, which is that adopted by this chapter, has been to begin by problematising the concept of *event* within the field, and then move from that reconceptualization to show how wider concerns and topics become drawn into the purview of events research (Spracklen and Lamond 2016). In the case of the former, events become contested because of the context in which they occur; for the latter contestation becomes a central characteristics of what constitutes the referent of 'event'. This is a much bolder claim as it effectively flips the former perspective; instead of the social science being central to event studies, the study of events become a significant concern for the social sciences.

In *Being and Event*, Badiou draws on the idea of event as a rupture that exposes *the real*; as such it has had a long philosophical tradition. If, for example, we consider Heidegger's discussion of Plato's myth of the cave from the 'Republic' (Heidegger 2010), it could be argued that such a construal of *event* dates back almost 2500 years. What is helpful in Badiou's

construal, however, is that for him the rupturing is understood as an outpouring of possibilities and potentialities. Event *is* the sudden eruption of possibility, the disruption of discursive routines, consequently it is best conceived as multiple rather than singular (Badiou 2007). At a phenomenological level we can thus conceptualise the group experience of *events* in, for example, festival attendee experience, as a multiplicity of multiplicities. Thus conceived, it becomes tenable how contestation emerges from *event*.

Whilst we may talk of event as singular, in fields such as event management, this needs to be taken as an abstraction that facilitates discourses of resource management, financial control, publicity and marketing etc. In adopting a more critical stance to the study of *event*, the referent is closer to its disruptive multiplicity, it therefore makes more sense to conceptualise its object of study less as an *event*, and more like an evental site. As such, the referent becomes more textured and layered in highly complex and nuanced ways. To study *events* within a CES orientation thereby becomes an interest in them as multiplicities and how those multiplicities are co-ordinated, channelled, sustained, mediated and, in some cases, mitigated. Preceding 'event' with an indefinite or definite article (For example to refer to either *an* event or *the* event), may make things simpler; however, it is ultimately misleading.

Events of dissent do not fit comfortably into frameworks established in much mainstream events research. In the typology of events developed in Getz's foundational work in event studies (Getz 2007), events of dissent do not appear and would seem to fall somewhere between political events and what he refers to as 'unplanned events'. Whilst protest does appear in a table of "Forces, trends and issues related to planned events" (Getz and Page 2016, p.29) in the most recent edition of his book, they are primarily associated with some form of instability, and characterised by their negative impact.

"There always seem to be factors such as conflicts, terrorism, disease or civic unrest that impact tourism – and on event tourism in particular – affecting the stability of environments in which to host events...pressure to deal with climate change (for example) results in carbon taxes and, potentially, other measures that could increasingly act to slow growth or impose specific barriers to travel and events." (ibid, p. 30)

In this quote it seems clear that events of dissent, in his example – pressure to deal with climate change, are not to be studied as events, but something that impacts events considered worthy of study. Protests, captured here as being part of family that suggests a resonance with, for example, terrorism and disease, he suggests, need to be handled correctly, as they may otherwise carry the potential of resulting in barriers to the development of *planned events*. This is very different from an approach rooted in CES, especially from the perspective outlined earlier. In their discussion of leisure activism and protests as event (Spracklen and Lamond 2016), it is of value to study and subject to scrutiny such *events* in their own terms, and not merely as coeval, concomitant or contemporaneous, to other events. As such, the conceptual grounding of CES makes it especially suitable for such research. Having established the orientation to the study of events that this chapter adopts, and indicated its relevance to the identified topic, it is important to now provide an outline of the exemplar event.

#### The anti-corruption demonstration in Sao Paulo: 5th December 2016

Operação Lava Jato is an on-going investigation being conducted by the Brazilian federal police, under the direction of the state judge Sérgio Moro. The investigation began in March 2014, following an earlier inquiry into money laundering which, itself, came to light when allegations were made in 2008 of the unlawful use of money transfer services at a gas station in Brasília (Connors and Magalhaes 2015). Lava Jato has gone beyond that original inquiry to encompass an aligned investigation into allegations of corruption associated with the state-controlled oil company Petrobras, the Brazilian based construction company Odebrecht and the Sao Paulo based meat-processing business JBS.

Though the inquiry is not, ostensibly at least, partisan, with allegations crossing multiple party lines, much of the Brazilian media has focused its attention on groups on the left and centre-left of the political spectrum. Those media narratives have keyed into a growing anti-government and anti-establishment feeling being articulated by Brazil's populist and evangelical Christian right (Fortes 2016, Leahy 2016).

The anti-corruption demonstration I observed took place along the Avenida Paulista in Sao Paulo; a long, straight, road that lies at the financial and commercial heart of the city. Alongside shopping malls, high end stores, and designer outlets, sit the headquarters for many of the largest companies in Brazil. As a space it is known as being one of the primary arena where mass expressions of dissent are articulated, not just in Sao Paulo but in Brazil itself. Most weekends will see some form of organised demonstration take place along all, or part, of the Avenida. The city authorities are geared up for such events of dissent, with simplified arrangements for establishing, effectively booking, a time and date for your demonstration, and a highly coordinated system for returning the road to its former state, once the demonstration has finished. Figure 1, below, illustrates this through a photograph I took at the end of a demonstration I observed in Sao Paulo on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2017. The clean up team took little more than 30 minutes to clear up after a demonstration of over 3 million people along the Avenida. A similar, though smaller, team followed the demonstration on the 5<sup>th</sup> December 2016.



Figure 1: Cleaning up the Avenida Paulista after an event of dissent. Sao Paulo: June 2017.

Whilst it can be argued that such routinisation of protest challenges the symbolic capital of social movements in their articulation of otherness (Lamond 2018), it also illustrates the operative structures the city can deploy in its strategic management of events of dissent.

My initial impression of the anti-corruption demonstration I observed, was one of conviviality. Street vendors lined much of the street, selling food and what looked like craft goods. Figure 2 is a photograph I took of one of those street units, which was selling snacks to people gathering near one of the event's floats.



Figure 2: Street vendor at the anti-corruption demonstration: December 2016

On the Avenida families and friends gathered together as they set up impromptu picnic areas. Children carried balloons, many of which were of a character known as Super Moro, the name the media and many on the populist Right use to refer to the judge currently leading the Lava Jato inquiry. There was a lot of laughter, and the general atmosphere seemed calm, friendly, and very informal. I am ashamed to say it was a colleague I was with that first pointed out to me what was a much more sinister current. The ubiquity of the Brazilian flag, and the shirt of the national football team, did not surprise me; but when I was alerted to the almost complete absence of non-whites in crowd and the preponderance of members of more politically peripheral communities staffing the stalls, I began to see the event differently. The limited instances where white people, who also appeared to be more affluent, were standing near a stand, it would be to seek support for a diverse range of politically right-leaning agenda. Requests for a return to a military Junta, in place of an apparently systemically corrupt



democracy, along with demands for reforms designed to limit the perceived degeneracy emerging from the government's *loose grip* on dealing with immigration, abortion, 'radical Islam' and LGBT rights.



Figure 3: One of several campaign floats at the demonstration in December 2016

One float was covered in a banner which suggested that it was democracy, tarnished by the left, that was the problem; and that only a return to military rule could provide a solution. Placards, banners, and chants, proclaimed that Lava Jato was routing out the lies that parties of the left were supposedly circulating; which were also, apparently, undermining what it meant to be truly Brazilian. Replacing them with the self-declared 'truths' of a populist and evangelical Christian right which, they suggested, was the only way the country could return to strength and take up its true place in the world.

One inflatable was of a generic corrupt politician, their underwear stuffed with money; the badges adorning that underwear, were all parties on the left.



Figure 4: Generic 'corrupt politician' inflatable.

The juxtaposition of apparent conviviality with such sentiments of hatred and anger, I experienced as highly disturbing. Yet the state and national media that reported on the event described it, almost exclusively, as a peaceful and friendly demonstration. It is unusual for me to feel intimidated whilst being amongst a large group of people; however, while I was there, I found myself deliberately masking some of the badges I wear that demonstrate my link to the LGBT community. I felt very vulnerable and threatened, as I was someone that did not seem to fit in with the stock view of humanity that was being articulated by this purportedly 'polite' crowd. The diversity of participation and engagement I observed led me to realise that if I hoped to gain a greater understanding of this event, to confront it and challenge it, I would need to move away from considering it as something graspable in the singular and instead try to understand its multiplicity; i.e. less as *an* event and more as an evental site.

#### Protest participation and leisure

For most of those participating in the demonstration on the 5<sup>th</sup> December it was something that they had undertaken in their spare time; it formed part of what could be considered a "free-time activity" (Stebbins 2011, p.239). Whilst that might not apply to everyone there, the majority of attendees were there in non-work time; participating as a result of a choice made by themselves or some social unit of which they are a part (such as young people attending

with members of their family). As such, at that very base level, their participation can be construed as a leisure activity (Lamond and Spracklen 2015). However, that does not, nor could it, simplify their engagement, for leisure is ‘...multilayered and therefore quite complex’ (Bouwer and van Leeuwen 2017 p. 15). Shared participation in leisure suggesting forms of communicative rationality (Spracklen 2011) and relationship (Habermas 1991) that, following Stebbins, can be conceptualised as occurring within three broad forms (Stebbins 1992); *casual*, *project-based* and *serious*.

Much of Stebbins’ work has been to examine the rich variety and articulation of these forms of leisure (Veal 2017). To elucidate a detailed empirical account of how they were embodied within an event of dissent would reach far beyond the remit of this chapter, and somewhat diverts from the point I want to make. That point being a more conceptual one. It is that, abductively, from my personal observation of the anti-corruption demonstration, those three forms of leisure appeared to be present. Some clarification of these forms of leisure is thus required.

For Stebbins, casual leisure was initially “cast in a residual role” (Stebbins 1997, p17) to serious leisure. Its position being a contrast to, and opposite of, the pursuit of a leisure activity that takes a more *serious* form. There are early hints of this in his work around defining the amateur (Stebbins 1977) and the differentiation between ‘amateur’ and ‘hobbyist’ in the study of leisure (Stebbins 1980). That early work concentrated on conceptualising *serious leisure*, which he set out in his conceptual statement of 1982 (Stebbins 1982), which relegated *casual leisure* to a position of minor significance. However, by 1997, he asserts that engagement in casual leisure is far more complex than being merely residual (Stebbins 1997), suggesting that it encompasses at least six different types. As a broad definition he suggests: “...casual leisure can be defined as an immediate, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it” (Ibid, p18). He concludes that; “...to treat casual leisure as a residual whose only use is to further the definition of one aspect or another of serious leisure is to miss the opportunity to explore a leisure world rich in unique properties of its own.” (p.24).

More recently Stebbins has argued for a connection between *casual leisure* and loose, short-lived, participation as social actors in neo-tribal groups (Veal 2017); even if that participation is relatively ephemeral. Such a formulation resonates with many of the small groups and families I observed at the demonstration, which seemed to drift in and out of the event. Interspersing their time with shopping, having a picnic or going for a meal with friends; not as something to do pre or post protest, but as part of a mixed range of activities that only seemed to incorporate the event at various points. Sauntering along the street in a Brazil football shirt for a little while before going for a coffee with some friends, joining the crowd and chanting before exiting to visit the Riachuelo department store; returning to cheer on someone speaking over a PA system, before setting out an impromptu picnic.

Stebbins has defined *project-based leisure* as a; "...short-term, moderately complicated, either one-shot or occasional, though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time...(which) requires planning effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge" (Stebbins 2005, p.2). He first recognises this as a form of leisure in his 2005 paper for Leisure Studies; 'Project-based leisure: Theoretical neglect of a common use of free time'. Interestingly, he splits it into two main sub-categories - one-offs and occasional projects. Where the former are realised through the undertaking of an activity to produce a unique outcome, occasional projects "...contain the possibility of becoming routinized" (Ibid, p.6). He argues that such projects contain that possibility because, even though they include "a sense of obligation", it is one that is experienced as agreeable to the person undertaking the project; who, in turn, anticipates that the completion of the project will be fulfilling (p.2). Bailey and Fernando (2012) found, in their study of more than three hundred college students, that such routinized occasional projects facilitated the formation of significant relationships and wider social engagement. Such intermittent participation draws on ready-to-hand skills and requires an element of planning, preparation and potentially collaborative working, towards a shared outcome. It operates as a form of social capital that draws people together within and beyond a specific leisure activity.

Though less easily observable, a suggestion of such leisure practice could be discerned in the engagement of some participants at the demonstration. It is more difficult to identify occasional project-based leisure as a characteristic as it relies on the sense of fulfilment

experienced by the social actor who irregularly engages in the activity. However, a range of behaviours, such as prolonged engagement with the event, the appearance of a greater level of preparation, specifically associated with the theme of the protest (such as small, apparently non-aligned, group production of simple home-made banners), a more thorough representation of association with key messages of the event, and so forth, act as indicators of participation somewhere along a spectrum towards an engagement at the level of serious leisure.

The literature that connects *serious leisure* and activism is substantial; Stebbins' work itself draws on earlier studies of voluntary action (e.g. Bosserman, 1975) that incorporated involvement in the political and civic sphere, where "volunteers get involved in citizens' movements, social advocacy, social action and political functions" (Stebbins 1982, p.264). He defines *serious leisure* as:

"...the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting and fulfilling that...they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centered (sic) on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience." (Stebbins 2011, p.239)

As already suggested, Spracklen (2011) has argued for a strong connection between serious leisure, close communicative relationships, and the construction of identity. A close association of one's identity with the leisure practices with which one engages, Stebbins argues, facilitates what he refers to as the durable benefits of such activity. Those participants at the protest that had laboured hard to produce complex banners, coordinate the use of the huge Brazilian flag that adorned the centre of the road for a few hundred metres, staffed stalls seeking signatories for petitions - who, with what seemed to be tireless stride, had promenaded along the Avenida, some with mega-phones, leading chants and call/responses, in elaborate and highly decorated outfits that mirrored the events focus; were engaged with it to an extent that far exceeded that of many others present. It was there presence, participation and voice that formed the eidetic heart of that event of dissent.

Given the variety of participation, interaction, and articulation I encountered whilst observing the protest along the Avenida, I would suggest, that a consideration of Stebbins tri-partite conceptualisation of leisure can facilitate a richer understanding of the diversity of engagement at such an event of dissent.

### Protest, policy change and the ACF

The relationship between collective protest and policy takes just a moments reflection. People engage in events of mass dissent because they are either demanding a new policy, or they wish to protect an existing one. In a similar fashion, it seems reasonable to conclude that such demonstrations arise from a position of not being able to individually effect policy change. Protest is not the seeking of the acquisition of power per se, that would-be either revolution or, possibly, electioneering. Whilst a few banners, chants, stalls and floats at the demonstration were pushing that agenda, one of the event's facets I found most disturbing, this omits a consideration of the broader spectrum of protestful participation and, thereby, neglects the wider connection between dissent and policy - to grasp that I suggest, we should consider the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF).

Initially developed by Paul Sabatier, ACF was developed as a response to perceived shortcomings of top-down models, which concentrated on prescribing structures through which policy maker should develop policy, and bottom-up approaches, that focused more on implementation and the filtering up of learning from the application of policy to those that made it (Sabatier 1988). In collaboration with Hank Jenkins-Smith, ACF became an evolving and adaptive framework that would, through ongoing empirical study into actual policy change, be regularly reviewed and updated (Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier 1994; Weible et al 2011). Despite its longevity, almost 30 years, Pierce et al (2017) argue that ACF is still a useful tool in understanding the empirics of the policy process. They go on to suggest that rather than ACF being a framework that guides policy makers, it constitutes a shared language that supports policy process research. Key to this are several core concepts, from which, with regards to participation in events of dissent, I would identify *advocacy coalitions* and *belief systems* as those elements of the framework that are most relevant.

Following Weible et al (2011) and Jenkins-Smith et al (2014) we can say that pressure for policy change occurs when there is some form of shock encountered in a prevailing policy domain. That systemic shock may be internal to a regime, external to it, or both; wherever it emerges it is through a move from prior stability to contestation. How it is apprehended and articulated will be bounded by a range of parameters which include, for example, broad public opinion on the issue, the prevailing socio-economic climate, and where it sits within institutional cycles of change and renewal (e.g. elections or the nomination of board members). Coalitions, both formal and informal, will form around possible responses to that shock and adopt a range of strategies to articulate their position. The belief systems of coalition members will vary through a combination of what they know (the diverse epistemic communities, and modes of epistemic framing, they are part of – Meijerink 2005), and their world view (the degree of ontological cohesion around how the shock has impacted their ontic orientation – Matti and Sandstrom 2013). The membership of coalitions will fluctuate as different agents, whether individual or institutional, acquire new knowledge or the ontological ties that formally bound them to a coalition are no longer found to be tenable. As the issue emergent from the system shock remains unresolved, or unacceptably addressed, coalitions will become more apparent; their epistemic and ontic foundations increasingly evident (Pülzl and Treib 2007); consequently, they will become more stable (Weible 2006).

Such degrees of ontic and epistemic attachment could, at a surface level at least, be observed within the varied formal/informal, fluid and transient social and organised groups that were participating in the anti-corruption demonstration; though more research would be required to confirm, empirically, whether such groupings were actually present. As such the demonstration was the single voice of a coalition advocating a clear and unified policy position, instead it would be more plausible to grasp it as evental – i.e. a site of multiplicity and contestation. The demonstration would be a bringing together of multiple coalitions, each connected through the range of epistemic and ontic associations between them. As participants in the event of dissent, those present would exhibit a wide spectrum of engagement. Some agents core beliefs may demonstrate dedication to radical systemic change (for example, those participants calling for a return to a military junta, and a general repatriation of non-Brazilians) and others with a less committed political/cultural position, that simply feel aggrieved by the current state-of-affairs; who may, given changes in their

level of knowledge, drift from one coalition to another, and even – potentially – away from the overarching populist right position that dominated the demonstration.

### Conclusion and recommendations: Bringing Leisure and ACF together

We can draw together a tripartite conceptualisation of *leisure* and the understanding of coalition formation and sustainability, present in ACF, through a consideration of the way identity, epistemic framing, and ontic cohesion converge and become articulated as a world view (Filardo-Llamas et al 2016). How might that be achieved?

As was argued earlier, leisure, especially serious leisure, forms a vital element within the construction and expression of identity (Spracklen 2011), which is made manifest through the ontic and epistemic structures that constitute communicative relationships that are bound up with participation in leisure activity (Stebbins 1980). It would seem to follow that such variation in ontic and epistemic attachment would represent differences in the expression of identity (deixis); the more tightly bound these elements are, the more likely that engagement in an activity will be expressed as serious leisure – the looser they are, the closer it will be to casual leisure. Though, it should be noted, this is not arguing for a causal relationship. Whilst deixis is manifest through the ontic and epistemic, they, in turn, are manifest through deixis.

We encounter a similar situation when we consider the extent to which an individual might associate with a coalition's position. In considering the stability of a coalition, and the likelihood of migration from one policy position to another, as we saw in the arguments of Meijerink (2005) and Weible (2006), the degree of ontic and epistemic attachment was central. Depending on the scale of the system shock, those less attached to a coalition will migrate, whilst others, with stronger ontic and epistemic bonds, may use it to consolidate their attachment.

What does this amount to? In effect, the argument is that when we consider engagement in activism as a form of leisure and understand protest as a way of articulating a policy position, there is a continuum of participation from those that are loosely connected to a coalition, that display that association as casual leisure, to those firmly attached to it, that will articulate



their relationship to a coalition as serious leisure. The variety in the ways people participated in the demonstration I observed was a manifestation of the breadth of different forms of diversity and inclusion associated with individual and group leisure practice and attachment to a policy coalition.

If we wish to challenge the rise of such populism, whilst still confronting governmental corruption, we are thus led to a conclusion that suggests such multiplicity can only be contested in a multi-modal way. Presenting people with 'the facts' will only impact the casual leisure participant, whose attachment to a coalition is weak. Those same 'facts' may be twisted and turned against us by the serious leisure activist, who may epistemically re-frame our position as evidence of the correctness of their own. To overturn such entrenchment might require drawing such people into a position of system shock; where the challenge is profound at an epistemic, ontic and deictic level. Such confrontation may risk violence, at least at a symbolic level. This means that for people such as myself, whose natural pre-disposition is towards nonviolent direct action (NVDA), we are left with a significant problem; how are we to overcome such entrenched positions whilst maintaining a commitment to NVDA. It may be that it is here that the use of creativity, humour and the arts, deployed to celebrate diversity and inclusion, can play a crucial part.

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